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SUBJECT: ASSISTANT SECRETARY FRIED'S SEPTEMBER 25 MEETING
WITH ROMANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER CIOROIANU, UN HEADQUARTERS

Classified By: EUR Acting A/S Kurt Volker, for reasons 1.4 (B) and (D)

11. (U) Participants:

U.S.

EUR Assistant Secretary Daniel Fried
Notetaker Aaron Jensen

Romania

Foreign Minister Adrian Mihai Cioroianu
U.N. Permanent Representative Mihnea Motoc
Charge Daniela Gitman
Political Director Stefan Tinca
Chief of Cabinet Gabriel Sopanda

12. (C) SUMMARY. In a September 25 meeting, Assistant Secretary Fried and Foreign Minister Cioroianu covered

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several issues of mutual interest. A/S Fried stressed Romania should focus on hosting a successful NATO Summit and Cioroianu assured him the GOR was working hard to prepare. On the Summit agenda, Cioroianu maintained that all three candidate countries (Croatia, Macedonia, and Albania) should receive invitations to join NATO. A/S Fried encouraged Romania to make this proposal at NATO. Cioroianu expressed serious concern that Russia would upstage the NATO summit with a hostile act prior to the summit. On Kosovo, A/S Fried explained the U.S. would recognize Kosovo following a unilateral declaration of independence, and asked for Romania to help Serbia find its way back to Europe rather than acting irredentist. Both A/S Fried and FM Cioroianu agreed that Europe must get serious on energy diversification. The Romanians pressed for PM Tariceanu to meet with Vice President Cheney. A/S Fried said he would look into it. END SUMMARY.

NATO Summit

13. (C) A/S Fried opened by cautioning Cioroianu that hosting

the NATO summit would be a huge job. The U.S. supported Romania as a host because Romania's NATO membership symbolizes President Bush's goal of enshrining the concept of a larger Europe, and enlargement from the Baltic to the Black Sea. The Bucharest Summit will be key to President Bush's legacy, bringing NATO into the 21st century. Hosting the summit would be challenging, but would provide an opportunity for Romania to showcase its achievements. Cioroianu thanked A/S Fried for his support, promised that preparations were well under way for the largest event ever organized by the GOR.

14. (C) Cioroianu said it was in Romania's interest to see all three aspirant countries - Croatia, Macedonia and Albania - invited to join the Alliance at Bucharest. A/S Fried asked about Romanian relations with Greece, explaining that Greek FM Bakoyannis told him that Greece needed the Macedonians to move on the "name issue." A/S Fried added the USG had not decided on the candidates' accession, though he had sympathy for all three. He encouraged the GOR to make its position on enlargement known in Brussels.

15. (C) Both the U.S. and Romania were in favor of a Membership Action Plan (MAP) for Georgia, while the Germans and French are hesitant. A/S Fried said it would be harmful to give the Georgians and Russians the impression that Georgia is outside the European family. Saakashvili and his people have their flaws, but Georgia is one of a few former Soviet states moving in the right direction. A/S Fried hoped Romania would support Georgia, adding that we need to give the Georgians hope. A/S Fried posited that the Russians might recognize Abkhazia after Kosovo independence, and said they should pay a heavy diplomatic price should they do so. Cioroianu said Bezhuashvili promised to appeal directly to the French, and continue pushing for MAP.

16. (C) A/S Fried mentioned NATO PermRep Nuland's trip to Bucharest to discuss the Summit. Cioroianu said Summit Coordinator Victor Micula had been very active, traveling to Brussels and Washington, and planned to meet soon with the French and Germans. A/S Fried asked if Micula had spoken to Czech Deputy Prime Minister Alexander Vondra on the Prague Summit experience, and Cioroianu responded yes. Romania's main concern was Russia's position on CFE, and whether Russia would cast a shadow over the Summit by taking some action immediately prior to spoil the meeting. A/S Fried said he hoped that any aggressive or mischievous act on Russia's part would consolidate Alliance support.

17. (C) A/S Fried noted there were multiple issues at the summit that would impact Russia: CFE, MD, MAP for Georgia, energy security, cyber security and NATO enlargement. Cioroianu said Romania desired a good dialogue with the Russians and wanted them at the summit. A/S Fried said he would come to Bucharest before the summit, probably early next year.

Russia is back

18. (C) A/S Fried predicted Russia would suspend its participation in the CFE treaty even though the Russians had not yet rejected the U.S. parallel action proposal. The Russians were showing some room for compromise on Georgia, and would consider a fact-finding mission to the base at Gudauta. On Transnistria, however, they rejected an international peacekeeping force without a political settlement. Russian DFM Kislyak said the government of Moldova accepted the Russian position. Fried argued that the GOM wanted Russian troops out. A/S Fried asked that Romania attend and actively participate in the October 1-2 CFE meeting in Germany.

19. (C) A/S Fried noted the U.S. had talked with the Russians about the training facilities in Romania and Bulgaria and explained they are within CFE restrictions, according to NATO treaty obligations. He maintained that CFE restrictions are

good for Russia, and if they depart from the treaty they will lose the benefits of the treaty's transparency requirements. The Russian response was that Putin wanted out and gave little room to negotiate.

Kosovo

¶10. (C) A/S Fried said the U.S. would recognize Kosovo after December 10, following a unilateral declaration of independence, but did not expect Romania to be the first European state to follow the U.S. lead. Romania should play its historical role as Serbia's friend in the region, and help lead Serbia back to Europe. The U.S. would try to help Serbia, but Serbia may not want to engage with the U.S. after we recognize Kosovo. Cioroianu agreed. He cautioned that Serbian leaders would use an imposed solution to their political advantage. Fried emphasized the hard choice Serbia would have to make: become irredentist or find its way back to Europe.

¶11. (C) Cioroianu said Romania would not block European consensus, emphasizing the need to encourage discussion between the Serbs and Kosovars. He was concerned the Kosovo Albanians just expect to become independent on December 11 without discussion, and that the concept of a greater Albania would not be positive for the region. A/S Fried said Albania would either be satisfied and move into Europe or enter an expansionist phase, which was the best argument to bring Albania into NATO, and against turning Kosovo into a frustrated state.

¶12. (C) Fried reminded Cioroianu that the concessions to the Serbs in Kosovo were extensive, and that no one expected the same privileged treatment of the Hungarian population in Romania. Cioroianu remarked that when Romania spoke of precedent, it was not referring to Romanian Hungarians. Rather, Romania was concerned about setting a precedent in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Transnistria.

¶13. (C) Cioroianu voiced concern with the legal basis for recognizing Kosovo, as Romania had expected a U.N. resolution. A/S Fried told Cioroianu the U.S. was working quietly on a legal justification for action on Kosovo without a new resolution, based on UNSCR 1244.

Energy

¶14. A/S Fried told Cioroianu that the Nabucco pipeline project now had a great deal of momentum, as the government of Hungary was now committed. After the recent Nabucco conference in Budapest, the Hungarians understood the need for Nabucco and the importance of energy diversity. Fried emphasized the U.S. takes energy security seriously. The U.S. wants to work with Europe to ensure our Allies are not increasingly dependent on Russian gas. A/S Fried said he agreed with the Poles on the Baltic pipeline, but the Polish-German squabbling was not helpful. Cioroianu said the

GOR is serious about energy and was glad the Nabucco project was still alive.

Tariceanu Visit

¶15. (C) In closing, Charge Gitman mentioned Prime Minister Tariceanu's desire to visit Washington to meet with Vice President Cheney. A/S Fried said he would look into it.
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